

PEACE NEWS

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THREE PENCE

Truman's Liberalism

SEVERAL journalists who said that Mr. Truman's defeat in the American election was certain, have since acclaimed his victory as a wonderful triumph for liberal and progressive opinion in the United States. I think it might be wiser to curb one's ecstasy awhile.

In practice I very much doubt if Governor Dewey would have pursued a policy substantially different from that which President Truman will follow. The Managerial Revolution is upon us, and the main lines of U.S. policy are dictated by technical necessity, a factor regardless of the President's identity, and one which is far more important in 1948 than the varying opinions of Party planners. Had Mr. John Foster Dulles replaced Mr. George Marshall at the State Department, and Mr. Eberstadt Mr. Forrestal as the Minister in charge of National Defence, no great changes could have been expected. Yet I admit that Mr. Truman's victory pleased me, if only because

COMMENTARY

by

MAURICE CRANSTON

the elements in American politics I like least—the big businessmen and chauvinists—were backing Mr. Dewey, and because in many smaller matters, Mr. Truman has taken a liberal stand against the reactionary policy of a Republican Congress.

The popular repudiation in this month's election of the Republican Congress which won its majority in 1946 was even more decisive than the repudiation of Mr. Dewey. It seems pretty clear that the bad record of that Congress did more than anything else to cook the Republican goose in the Presidential Election.

What Congress resisted

EVEN America's reactionary Press could not conceal that record from the public. Too often Mr. Truman wanted to make some change for the public good, but failed to get the support of Congress. In January of 1947 he made recommendations to Congress to meet the economic dangers implicit in the post-war boom. Many of his proposals were not adopted; inflation grew.

Later Mr. Truman urged action to increase the Federal minimum wage from 40 to 65 cents an hour. Congress did nothing.

The President asked for immediate steps to expand social security coverage and liberalise its benefits. Congress again did nothing.

He asked for overall labour management legislation to ensure "sound collective bargaining." Congress, over-riding the President's veto, passed the Taft-Hartley Act to restrain the labour unions.

Mr. Truman called for legislation to end discrimination in employment because of race, religion, age or sex. Again Congress did nothing.

In reply to the President's suggestion that anti-trust laws should be reinforced, the Senate passed the Read-Bulwinkle Bill, exempting railway rate fixing agreements from prosecution. Even on the issue of schoolchildren's meals the legislative of the world's richest country cut an allocation of 75 million dollars to 45 million dollars.

Health measures were no more successful. The Democratic Senators

(CONTINUED ON PAGE SIX)

Atomic Impasse

UNO'S FRIVOLOUS DECISION

LAST week the General Assembly of the United Nations once more approved, by forty votes to six, the American Plan for international control of atomic energy. It then told the Atomic Energy Commission to resume its task of seeking agreement on this Plan.

In view of Mr. Vyshinsky's reiterated declaration that the Soviet Union would never agree to it, this decision stands out as utterly futile and frivolous.

In the course of the debate, the British representative, Mr. McNeil, ridiculed the Soviet objection. "The Assembly," he said, "was being asked to accept the astonishing assertion that the majority reports sought to put the Soviet Union at a disadvantage."

Is that assertion really astonishing? Are there no grounds for the Soviet rejection of the American Plan. Before instructing the Commission to spend a further year on negotiations foredoomed to failure, it was the Assembly's duty to reconsider these questions.

They have lately been answered in a book to which Vyshinsky made reference, "Military and Political Consequences of Atomic Energy," by P. M. S. Blackett (Turnstile Press, 12s. 6d.). Prof. Blackett's contribution to the discussion of this all-important subject is here reviewed by a fellow physicist, Dr. Alex. Wood.

The Book Vishinsky Cited

By Alex Wood

THIS is an important book because of the qualifications and experience of the author. He has made distinguished contributions in the field of nuclear physics and has served on the Atomic Energy Commission. During the war he worked at the Admiralty and was one of the pioneers in the application of scientific methods to naval strategy. He has obvious pro-Russian sympathies, but the book is objectively written and the arguments are well documented.

Prof. Blackett maintains that the atom bomb is not a decisive weapon, and indeed that no single weapon is likely to be decisive in war; that the effectiveness of the bomb will be greatest if used in conjunction with land, sea and air forces; and that terror bombing, obliteration bombing, area bombing, or whatever we may like to call it, is an ineffective, indecisive and uneconomical use of any bomb, even ordinary high explosive.

Effects of bombing

His argument, however, is mainly based on the bombing policy of the Allies against Germany. Here he shows that allied bombing killed 0.15 persons per ton of HE dropped and that German output rose continuously during the whole campaign until air superiority had been established by the Allies and attacks on oil sources and supplies gradually brought the German machine to a standstill. It is not safe, however, to argue from the effect of the delivery of a given weight of bombs spread over a period of years to the effect of simultaneous bombing of many important centres with the atom bomb. The psychological effect might well be very different and, indeed, decisive.

In the light of what has since happened great interest attaches to his quotation from the Franck report. This report by seven scientists under the chairmanship of Professor Franck, dealing with the political implications of the use of the atom bomb, says:

"Russia, and even allied countries which bear less mistrust of our ways and intentions, as well as neutral countries, may be deeply shocked by this step. It may be very difficult to persuade the world that a nation which was capable of secretly preparing, and suddenly releasing, a new weapon as indiscriminate as the rocket bomb, and a thousand times more destructive, is to be trusted in its proclaimed desire of having such weapons

abolished by international agreement. . . . We believe that these considerations make the use of nuclear bombs for an early attack against Japan inadvisable. If the US were to be the first to release this new means of indiscriminate destruction of mankind, she would sacrifice public support throughout the world, precipitate the race for armaments and prejudice the possibility of reaching an international agreement on the future control of such weapons."

These forebodings have been only too accurately fulfilled.

Blackett goes on to develop the view that the use of the bombs was intended not to save American lives but to forestall the Russian campaign in Manchuria and to secure the surrender of Japan to the Americans alone, and the case which he makes is exceedingly convincing. If it is true, the decision to use the bomb is immensely harder to justify. In any event the dates selected for dropping the only two bombs then in existence—Hiroshima, August 6; Nagasaki, August 9;—the first two days before, and the second one day after, the start of the Russian offensive, was bound to create the worst suspicions.

The negotiations for an agreed settlement on the Atomic Energy Commission are well summarised and the reasons for the impasse are clearly brought out. Blackett admits that the Soviet plan failed to give the security desired, but shows also that the American plan, while giving security, meant in practice the placing of the future development of atomic power in Russia in the hands of an Atomic Development Authority on which she would be in a permanent minority.

Moreover, the plan was to be carried out by stages and the same Authority was to decide when each stage was to finish and the next one to commence. This meant that a survey of sources of uranium would commence at once and Russia's economy would be laid open to inspection while the date at which the American stockpile of bombs was to be destroyed would be decided subsequently by an Authority on which America commanded a permanent majority.

Blackett abandons hope of agreement on any possible plan giving complete security and supports an attempt to reach an agreement on a plan designed to give a large measure of security but making some concession to the quite genuine Russian case. The book supplies an important part of the background of the present international crisis.

SYBIL MORRISON PPU CAMPAIGN ORGANISER

SYBIL MORRISON has been appointed organiser for the PPU campaign to secure new members and implement the recent policy statement of the National Council.

Big public meetings to be held in connection with the campaign are announced in Sybil Morrison's first "Campaign column" on page six, where the progress of the campaign will be reported weekly in future.

At Trafalgar Square

on Sunday Nov. 14

Sybil Morrison will be speaking for the Peace Pledge Union at the Trafalgar Square Rally on Sunday Nov. 14 (see page five).

Military Training Harmful to Youth

—QUAKERS

THAT Quaker opposition to military conscription is as strong as ever was evident from a meeting attended by some 500 people at Friends House, Euston, last Thursday. All the speakers were members of the Society of Friends.

The Clerk (Chairman) of the Society of Friends in Great Britain, Mrs. W. Maude Brayshaw, presided. She said she spoke as the mother of four sons, aged between 17 and 26 at the beginning of the last war, all of whom had been conscientious objectors. Boys who were convinced that the CO position was the right one needed continued support, but even greater support needed to be given to lads who, at the early age of 18, had only half-formulated ideas concerning the wrongness of war.

AWAKEN CONSCIENCE

Dr. Kathleen Lonsdale, F.R.S. speaking as a parent said, "You can't manufacture conscience. You can only awaken it and let God do the rest." All who opposed conscription must see that their young people were aware of the facts about it.

The Meeting warmly approved the following statement, which has been sent to the Prime Minister:

"We believe that the great need of the world today is for men and women able to co-operate, to live and work together in goodwill. Compulsory military training teaches young men to kill their fellows; it hardens their hearts and conditions their minds to expect war. It places them in situations of grave moral temptation and danger; and it denies to them the right of every young human being to develop freely."

"We believe conscription to be wrong and a danger to world peace. We would therefore urge the repeal of the National Service Act at an early date."

A group of boys and girls from Leighton Park School was present at this meeting. Towards the end, an RAF man in the audience asserted that "most of the fellows" in his unit were "damned nearly pacifists, and thinking hard about it."

WILL YOU BE THERE?

CAN you sell Peace News at Sunday's Peace Demonstration in Trafalgar Square, from 1.30 p.m. onwards? Please phone the Peace News office (STA 2262) without delay if you can. We want as many sellers as we can get, and people to distribute leaflets as well.

Harry Minter and Hugh Brock will meet sellers by the steps of St. Martin-in-the-Fields to supply them with Peace News, posters and leaflets.

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ANOTHER MUNICH?

THE present situation in Europe differs in at least two cardinal respects from that of 1938.

In the first place, as Prof. H. S. W. Massey pointed out in a speech at the Stoke Newington Peace Exhibition last month, there is today no reason for believing that any Government wants to wage war.

If the American Government wanted to, it would have started long before now: for, as Stalin himself confessed in his private correspondence with Tito, the USSR is in no position to engage in hostilities yet.

The rulers of Russia, for their part, do not look upon war, like the Nazis and Fascists, as something good in itself. It is true that they believe, in the words of Politbureau-member Nikolai Voznessensky, that "So long as the capitalist encirclement remains, the powder must be kept dry. So long as Imperialism remains, there is the danger of an attack on the USSR, the danger of a third world war." But they have always the hope that war may be forestalled by Cominform action; that international war may be averted by, if not converted into, class war. There is the precedent of Czechoslovakia.

This is one of the facts which Churchill characteristically ignores, when he speaks of serving Russia with an ultimatum to retire behind her pre-war frontiers. Of "the eleven ancient capitals of Europe," only one is occupied by Russians—Berlin: and that may quite soon be evacuated—too soon for Churchill's convenience. If Russia started a war, it would be because the Cominform had demonstrably failed.

The only war at all likely in the world today is a "preventive war." It might be precipitated by Russia (though not before she has recovered sufficiently, and gained possession of the atom bomb), in order to end the Imperialist threat. It might be precipitated by America, in order to prevent the preventive war. But, in either case, it would be caused simply and solely by mutual fear and suspicion.

The second cardinal respect in which the present situation differs from that of 1938, is that whereas ten years ago the massive force of "economic necessity" was on the side of rearmament and war, today it drives the opposite way. Not only in Western Europe, where all the manpower available is needed for civil production, but even in America itself, inasmuch as ERP provides a market for her surplus goods which would actually have to be curtailed were she forced to re-arm Europe as well.

These two facts alone constitute an entirely different backscreen from that against which the drama of Munich was enacted. Then, rearmament meant an end to unemployment and so to the danger of Fascism at home, whilst at the same time it provided a safeguard against Fascist invasion from abroad. Now, rearmament endangers the standard of living to such an extent (*vide* Cyril Hughes' Commentary last week) as to make Communism practically unavoidable, whilst it only confirms Communists abroad in their dogmatic suspicion of the West.

Since Russian domination is not an article of the Communist creed, as German domination was of the Nazis', there is at least a fifty-fifty chance that, if the West disarmed unilaterally, Soviet Russia would follow suit. It is quite certain that if the resources spent on rearmament were devoted to the restoration of a balanced economy and a wise education of the people, the West would have less to fear for its threatened values than it has at the present time, whether it was invaded or not.

All is grist....

PACIFISTS are sometimes derided for seeing no deep ethical distinction between torture and slaughter from the air and torture and slaughter at ground-level.

I myself think there is a distinction. For some unreasonable reason, I would rather be atomised than liquidated; the airman who takes a risk seems to me superior to the executioner who takes none; I abhor the concentration camp more than the thousand-bomber raid, if only because it is less indiscriminate—it concentrates particularly on the good. But that any deep ethical distinction can be drawn between the two operations I find it hard to admit. And now a queer little story comes to hand, which seems to point the same moral.

A German doctor who, like many others just after the War, was compelled by the Allied authorities to attend a film of the concentration camps, was amazed all at once to spot himself on the screen. Never in his life has he visited Buchenwald, and yet there, unmistakably, he was, walking about among the pitiful, naked and bleeding victims. What could be the explanation? For a moment he was nonplussed—then the truth dawned on him. This was not a concentration camp at all, nor were these political prisoners; the scene was Dresden in February 1945, and they the victims of the great Allied air-raid which slew some 25,000 men, women and children sheltering in the city.

"The people responsible for these horrors," it was announced at the end of the film, "will receive the punishment they deserve." Have they?

AN article in The Sunday Chronicle recently attracted my attention. It was entitled, "I was Wrong to be a Pacifist," and taken from Beverley Nichols' Autobiography. If, as he now confesses, his "pacifism" was "due to a very acute

awareness of physical pain," and of such a nature that Yeats-Brown's "The Dogs of War" constituted an "unanswerable" retort, Beverley Nichols certainly was very wrong.

But I hope the readers of the Sunday Chronicle will not run away with the idea that this is the only kind of pacifism, or the kind of pacifism favoured by the PPU. It was something rather different that took Olaf Kullmann and Joop Westerweel to the concentration camp.

"Peace, even at the price of honour," used to be Beverley Nichols' slogan. "Honour, even at the price of peace," was the watchword of those pacifists who resisted Hitler's New Order, even when it promised to unify Europe.

I WONDER when the new owners of British Railways, viz. the British Public, will insist on something being done about the labelling of their stations? In many parts of England it is difficult by day, and well nigh impossible by night, to find out where your train has stopped, even when (as not infrequently happens) it has stopped at a station. While a glance from any window will disclose a mass of interesting and instructive literature relating to Building Assurance, The Sunny South and Tea, the most searching gaze will not tell you whether you are at Wivenhoe or Wigan, and the distant incantation of a guard is rarely more enlightening. Admittedly, a smart walk along the platform will elicit the desired information. But it is small consolation to know that your destination is still three halts ahead when (this time) the train itself is out of sight.

THE triolet has never been much at home in English verse. Swinburne tried to naturalise it, and was more successful than most of his contemporaries, but its dainty pirouettes were scarcely compatible

with the high seriousness of most Victorian poetry. The following example, sent me by Phyllis Vallance, however, suggests unexplored possibilities:—

ARMISTICE DAY, 1948.

I wonder what the Glorious Dead
Think of the glorious present?
Where is the world for which they bled,
I wonder? What the glorious dead
Might say—let it remain unsaid,
It can't be very pleasant.
I wonder what the glorious dead
Think of? The Glorious Present?

THE following I quote by memory, and therefore probably inaccurately, from the U.S. Peace Action:

And as in Fulton thought he stood,
The Molotov with ears a-flame
Came bumping through the Bretton Wood
And vetoed as it came.

There seems to be so much poetical talent in the peace movement, that I am offering a prize of one five-shilling Housman's book token to the author of the best topical parody on a poem by Lewis Carroll, provided it reaches me by the end of this month and does not exceed 25 lines.

John Miller

ent from the proposals of Mr. Shah-rir in May 1947. But then, these proposals were deemed "inacceptable," and served to justify military action!

Holland.

W. J. JONG.

Reckless talk

MAURICE CRANSTON in "The Turn of the Tide?" hails gladly the Communist "reverses" in England, and gives the illustration of Hornsey, where Communist "muddle" resulted in a big majority for Capt. Gammans, "the Conservative, who fortunately is a very good M.P."

Recently Capt. Gammans said (Oct. 7):

"I am absolutely convinced you have got to have a show down with Russia that carries with it the risk of war. The Western Powers should tell Russia to clear out of Europe. . . . We are already at war with Russia but fighting has not yet started."

I am rather shocked to find in Peace News that Capt. Gammans is regarded as "a very good M.P." for such reckless talk is typical of him.

E. V. TEMPEST.

Pendragon,
Lister Lane,
Bradford.

The Church is silent

YOUR publication last week of the news item, that the Central Board for Conscientious Objectors' advertisements had been refused by two prominent Roman Catholic journals, accords with the complete silence emanating from that authoritarian religious hierarchy, when recently, in one of the South American Republics, all religious organisations—excepting Roman Catholicism—were banned. No protests—in the name of freedom, etc.—were forthcoming, such as were witnessed in Poland and elsewhere. Does not this silence savour of dishonesty?

On the same ground, though possibly of lesser degree, is the general silence from Christian bodies in face of the BBC denial of religious equality of freedom to all organizations other than those of orthodox belief.

S. L. ROBINSON.

Stockend,
Edge, Glos.

Hyderabad...

I HAPPENED to be present at the Gandhi Birthday Meeting at Friends House, and carefully listened to Mr. Horace Alexander's speech. Had he confined his unqualified support to the Nehru Government's action in Hyderabad, it would have been a simple matter. For the military action has, indeed, rescued Hyderabad from Razakar Terror, and checked the spread of anarchy in the State.

To describe Pandit Nehru, however, as the "closest friend" of Mahatma Gandhi, in this context, is to link up the Mahatma's name in a manner, which is likely to suggest unwarranted implications.

The Mahatma, when approached about the clash of arms in Kashmir, made it quite clear that he had no hand in the formulation or execution of the Government policy. He did denounce the attitude of Muslim Leaguers in the Kashmir and the Hyderabad conflicts, and thus lent his moral support to the Indian Government. But, at the same time, he reiterated his own unshakeable faith in non-violence. It is safe to deduce therefore, that, were he alive to-day, Mahatma would have taken the same line, as he followed all his life.

Mr. Alexander has done well to interpret his speech, he originally made at Friends House, and thus helped to remove to some degree the misunderstanding caused by it.

G. S. DARA.

Gandhi Society,
16, Regent Square, London, W.C.1.

... a touchy issue

HORACE ALEXANDER in his letter on Gandhi and Hyderabad published on Oct. 29, seems to have taken a non-pacifist line of argument while trying to correct your correspondent's report. The whole issue, which he seems to have side-tracked, is whether the armed aggression of a Gandhi-ite "non-pacifist" Indian Government against Hyderabad is to be hushed up like all other touchy issues which should be condemned at least by those who believe in peace and pacifism.

One is shocked when Mr. Alexander dismisses the main point of dis-

pute in a sentence: takes it for granted that Hyderabad is a part of the present India and thus justifies India's action. Even the non-pacifist impartial observers hesitate to make an extremely careless statement like this on an issue which has been condemned everywhere in pacifist quarters. The world has known that whatever the teachings of Mr. Gandhi might have done, the present Indian Government are certainly aggressive and expansionist.

ARSHAD M. MIRZA.

18, Blackall Road,
Exeter.

Dutch viewpoint

I WOULD have preferred the Indian Government to rely on non-violent means only in its action against the Nizam of Hyderabad. But if ever there was cause for a

LETTERS

"police action," the Nizam's and his fanatical storm troops, denial of democratic rights to his Hindu subjects did offer one.

There is no comparison possible with the action of my country's Government against the Indonesian Republic as alleged by Bruce Odspur in Peace News of Sept. 24. This is proved by the people's resistance to the invasion by Dutch troops—altogether lacking in Hyderabad. But whereas the Nizam kept on postponing negotiations, the Republican Government has always been willing to negotiate on the base of the Ling-gadjati agreement. It is only obstruction by the Dutch colonists at home and in Indonesia that has prevented the implementing of this agreement.

Now, after a disastrous military action, when a fanatic faction is dominant (the Masjoemi party) in the Republic, and the Dutch Government has been "broadened" by the inclusion of Colonial diehards, the Dutch Government is willing to negotiate on the base of Mr. Cochran's proposals, that are in no way differ-

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THE INDIAN THEORY

WHAT should be the aims of a non-violent economic system and how far do the systems that obtain in the various parts of the world today fulfil these aims?

These are the questions that Dr. C. Kumarappa, the Gandhian economist, seeks to answer in a series of books based on the experiences of non-violent living at Sevagram that I described last week. And it is essential, if we want to assess the relevance of this experiment to the problems of the world in general, that we should get a clearer picture of the point of view that he puts forward. In his booklet "Why the Village Movement?" he outlines the goal of his economic system as follows:

- (i) It should distribute wealth widely and evenly;
- (ii) It should provide for the needs of the people before comforts and luxuries are catered for;
- (iii) It should be a means of eliciting all the faculties of the worker and developing his personality.
- (iv) As an outcome of the other three, it should be conducive to the peace and harmony of society.

Capitalism clearly fulfills neither of the first two conditions. It concentrates what wealth it creates in certain hands, leading to class cleavage; while, as a large percentage of the profits must go to further capital investments, purchasing power is not widely distributed; this results in over-production and a constant urge towards the creation of luxury markets to absorb the surplus. How well we know them: lipsticks, perfumes, hair oils, sweets, tonics, that from every available inch of space try, by flattering our vanity or artificially stimulating our appetites, to seduce us into wasting money! In Socialism as we know it today, this method is developed on a national scale. The State becomes the chief capitalist and enters the international market in order to try and foist its luxury articles on to its less industrialised neighbours, and so support its topsy-turvy home economy.

The third condition raises a question of vital and far-reaching importance to the happiness of man.

Dr. Kumarappa believes that in the present day industrialised societies the whole conception of work has become vitiated. He divides work into two main components: the germ of growth—which makes for the development and happiness of the worker, and drudgery. The two are complementary, but under capitalism we have sought to divorce the one from the other. Even when we try and run a highly industrialised state for the benefit of the proletariat we show how deeply this capitalist view of work has sunk into our souls. Let the luxuries and leisure of the privileged be available to all; let work be reduced to a minimum so that we may develop our cultural interests in our spare time: so runs the familiar cry.

But are we ever likely, under the present system, to use our leisure creatively? To do so we need a high degree of self-discipline: one of the most valuable products of true work. Is it not more likely that if we spend our working hours herded into huge factories removing a box as it reaches the conveyor belt, our minds

Hallam Tennyson

told in his first article last week of the significant experiments carried out in the neighbourhood of Gandhi's Ashram at Sevagram.

The Basic Education School at Sevagram is once again illustrated in the Times of India photo on the right. It shows boys of the 8th class taking their turn at cooking the school dinner. Pupils do all the catering and marketing for the establishment as part of their education.

seeking refuge from the boredom of drudgery in canned music, that the average amongst us will turn passively to mass produced entertainments during our leisure? Surely it is through our work itself that we should acquire culture; an understanding of the community in which we live and a feeling that we are making a creative contribution towards its well-being? For this we must partake intelligently in the whole process of production, feel that what we produce springs from an intelligible local need and that our skill is essential to meet it.

If our economic system is to be non-violent then it must not ignore this vital problem. It must aim more at the well-being of the worker himself than at the accumulation of wealth.

WRONG EMPHASIS

The question of work is closely linked to that of standards of value. By emphasising the product at the expense of the function of work we have entered on the chase after that receding mirage—"a higher standard of living." The ideal of simplicity has been discarded. Our standards are expressed purely in terms of money and materials. They no longer have any reference to the lives of those around us. But what do such standards signify if they destroy the happiness of the worker, drain wealth from so-called backward peoples and throw us into cut-throat competition for the world's materials and markets?

That Socialism and Communism in their more idealistic forms aim at a planned world economy, and that National Socialism in some respects an aberration, cannot be denied. But



how far has the type of economic system that Socialism has favoured, necessitated such an aberration? The modern Socialist State, by concentrating the power formerly held by the monopoly capitalists in the hands of the State itself makes it a ruthlessly efficient machine for the prosecution of its ends. But how can we ensure that these ends will be compatible with world peace; the means chosen for their achievement non-violent?

Are not the rulers forced into violence by the very pressure of their own economic systems? Are they not bound to emphasise their own standard of living at the expense of other classes or nations? And if this is so, their aim in negotiation with others will be to find a compromise between conflicting interests rather than to decide what is for the common good of all.

NOT TOO LATE

It must of course, be remembered that the ideas put forward by Dr. Kumarappa are for practical application in a still unindustrialised India. It is not too late to give back to the Indian villages the life and the activity that have been gradually drained from them by the economics of foreign-imperialism. India's great source of wealth is her manpower, and if widespread unemployment is to be avoided under industrialisation,

she would have to enter the international market and produce cheap standardised goods for export, like pre-war Japan, in order to survive.

Dr. Kumarappa believes that India should produce her primary necessities by linking the production of cloth on village looms to a system of balanced cultivation such as I described in the last article. Large-scale industries would be confined to public utilities or to the production of articles which by their very nature require such methods. The backbone of this economy will be the village unit subserved where necessary by judicious centralisation. A complex standard of living will be sought—once the immediate needs of the people have been met—only in so far as it does not lead to unrestricted power in the hands of the State or of monopoly capitalists, or deprive the people of the opportunity of developing their self-reliance and creative faculties.

Only in these conditions, he claims, will India's voice in the councils of the world be free from considerations of power or economic advantage. And he believes that not until other economic systems are ordered along similar lines will the so-called civilised world be able to break the vicious circle of fear and aggression that today perpetuates nationalism and, indeed, threatens hourly to engulf it in irretrievable disaster.

HARROWING CLOUDS

In time of

"The Breaking of Nations"

ONLY a man harrowing clods
In a slow silent walk
With an old horse that
stumbles and nods
Half asleep as they stalk.

Only thin smoke without flame
From the heaps of couch-grass;
Yet this will go onward the same
Though Dynasties pass.

Yonder a maid and her wight
Come whispering by:
War's annals will cloud into night
Ere their story die.

Thomas Hardy.

avail Jesus much, nor will they avail the cause of peace.

I am reminded of this harrowing and those legions because, as the situation grows more terrible, we have to put our weight somewhere.

I personally believe that the most effective way towards peace is by each of us, with all the passion and tenderness we are capable of, offering ourselves to the life quality which is going to survive "though dynasties pass."

I believe there are degradations just as bad as war, and that there is a price to be paid for freedom from war which is just as big a blasphemy to life as war itself. For instance, the monstrous treatment of the unemployed between the two wars was as bad as Belsen, except that people went on drawing breath. But life had ceased to be sweet. If you want to appreciate the immense power of Communism you have to learn something about those days of contempt. We, none of us, really want peace at that price.

The price involved in following the harrows is not everybody's choice. But if you want to make a contribu-

By Joe Watson

tion to peace, there is only one way, and that is by affirming peace.

A man harrowing clods is attendant upon life. The mystery of growth and decay is under his feet. He is observing the minute particulars. His slow silent walk has more meaning than all the bustle and scuffle of an open-air meeting. If you agree that gigantic organisation and monopolistic control is dehumanising, then you have to agree that if man becomes dehumanised he is not morally to blame for a dehumanising thing like war. The one thing we can do, then, is to cease to submit to the dehumanising process. Remove yourself and that's one less. Make it plain to your friends that you do this as a contribution to peace. Let that be your witness.

★

We began by saying that harrowing is drudgery, and we ought to admit that peace can be drudgery too. It seems that life contains a good deal of drudgery: the work of the world. But of all occupations nothing is quite so drudging as war, either cold or hot, by arms or by hunger. One could almost say that there is a drudgery of love. That to love one must tread the stony path as well as the primrose path, patiently keep love growing by gentle nurture of the other to be loved. If you enter a home which is at once warm and kindly, you may be sure a vast amount of time has been spent on more than just watering the flowers. We often get off to a bad start. Twisted minds and blunted sensitivity. Its easy enough to get impatient with people who do nothing for peace when peaceful conditions have been one's natural soil. It is hard to be patient when one is young. Perhaps it will prove more difficult to turn from the unchallenged way of exhortation to the more thorny harrowing which the needs of mankind require of us.

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When war is in the air and it appears that the drift cannot be stopped, one's mind plays with the dream of being in a position to persuade millions and command legions towards peace. Possibly we all of us pacifists hanker after capturing "the man in the street" and filling him with our aspirations. And possibly nothing is more devastating to the tender soul than to find his or her propaganda efforts either ignored, or worse still, treated with indifference.

We are easily persuaded that only by the command of legions can we ever hope to be effective. We imagine always that the mass of mankind is some vast leviathan which moves off at a touch, and that all we have to do is get our touch off before the warmonger gets his, and peace is ours. Nothing is further from the truth. The legions didn't

I WAS ONE OF THE CHANNEL ISLAND GERMAN

In Peace News, June 13, 1947, appeared a review by Dr. Alex Wood of two books dealing with life in the Channel Islands under the German Occupation: "Guernsey Under German Rule," by Ralph Durand, published by the Guernsey Society, London, and "Jersey Under the Jackboot," by R. C. F. Maugham, CBE; W. H. Allen, 7s. 6d.

A copy of this particular issue recently came into the hands of Ernst Bleul of Uelzen, Germany, a former member of the Channel Islands Occupation Force. He writes:

I BELONGED to the staff of Grange Lodge and later of College House, the headquarters of the former FK 515, which had charge of the civil population, and I congratulate Dr. Wood on his excellent article.

Unfortunately, I do not know these two books, but I did know Mr. Durand from a few discussions and I am very sorry to read of his death.

I joined the staff as an administration officer in Dec., 1940, when Major Glantz was Commander of Guernsey. He spoke English fluently and had English university degrees. Relations between the civil and military authorities were correct, and remained so when General von Schmettow took over command and Baron von Aufsess was the civil administration officer.

THE ONE "JACKBOOT"

I think only one real "Jackboot" arrived in the Islands, an admiral. But that was rather late, in Jan., 1945, after the "Colonel," as the civil population called our Commander, had been court-martialled at Caen for not having carried out Nazi orders and Gestapo methods. I believe that very few real Nazis were in the Islands, and even then they were not in key positions. Most of us had an idea of democracy and knew something of the English way of life.

FK 515 tried everything possible to alleviate the plight of the population. Even during the worst period they never came down to 1,000 calories. An Island Purchasing Commission had free movement in France. We were once sent to the mainland to get several thousand pairs of boots from France, but they were sent to the bottom of the sea by RAF planes on their way to Jersey. The small rations were secured for the civil population even when our forces were badly short of food and with the exception of a few things civil rations were never touched by the military authorities.

After being cut off from France our soldiers learnt to appreciate the British mentality. The nearer the bitter end came for us the more tolerant the population became. Real friendship grew between individuals and there was never hatred between both nations. When we were PoWs in England, and later after having returned home, personal contact developed into friendship.

We knew how much the civil population suffered from being separated for long years from their dear ones, but most of them did not forget that we shared our last loaf, and numerous signs of real generosity have since been given to us. I think there was left only very little of bitter feeling. I hope that the seed of friendship will grow up and develop. Then this period will become a milestone on the way to mutual understanding between the two nations.

ERNST BLEUL.

Berensen,
Kr. Uelzen,
Bergrstr. 21.

* It has frequently been stated that many of the thousand copies of PN sent weekly to Germany are circulated until they fall to pieces.

Words of Peace - No 251 THE EXAMPLE

Canada, Africa—forgiveness, amnesty, the wisdom of oblivion of evil, the call of human brotherhood wider and better and deeper than antagonisms of race. Will history teach men nothing of the value of these noble things, and how they last and how they heal. People and Governors of Ireland, bethink yourselves. Consider.—Letters of Lord Shaw of Dunfermline.

"THE ONLY TREASON IS VIOLENCE"

U.S. Reserve Corps Captain Renounces War

Honolulu.

IN AN OUTSPOKEN LETTER TO PRESIDENT TRUMAN, SENT THROUGH MILITARY CHANNELS, CAPTAIN ELLSWORTH W. TAYLOR, OF KAPOHO, HAWAII, HAS RESIGNED HIS COMMISSION IN THE OFFICERS' RESERVE CORPS AND DECLARED HIS INTENTION NEVER TO PARTICIPATE IN FURTHER MILITARY ACTIVITIES, WHETHER IN PEACE-TIME OR WAR. INSTEAD, HE MEANS TO DEVOTE HIMSELF TO PACIFISM.

Captain Taylor is 29; a native of Tacoma, Washington; and at present a teacher in Kapoho School. He has a wife and two young children, one a girl four years old and another a boy of ten months. He received his commission in the O.R.C. after honourable discharge from the Army, following five years of service, three of them during the war. After graduating from high school and working for some time, Captain Taylor joined the Army (he says "with misgivings") on Feb. 10, 1941, as a private. "I saw no combat," he asserts, "but some of the results of combat, spending three years in the Hawaiian Islands during the war, and holding the rank of captain before my discharge on March 20, 1946."

Captain Taylor's anti-war convictions have matured, he says, from the study of religious pacifism in the writings of Harry Emerson Fosdick, Allan Hunter and others, and in the lives of men like Gandhi, Tolstoy, Kagawa; the Quakers, "and the more than 5,000 men of courage whom the U.S. jailed during World War II because they refused to murder at the command of the State."

He attended Pacific Bible College in Portland, Oregon and the University of Hawaii for short periods, and is now in his second year of teaching under an emergency agreement in the Hawaii schools.

Letter to President

In his letter to the President, Captain Taylor makes 11 points:

1. I can no longer remain in an organisation whose members are dedicated to the development and practice of the science of killing humans and destroying natural resources. Life is a heritage, not an invention of our own, and there is no man, or group of men, or nation of men with the authority or the wisdom to say when it should end.

2. I have made a treaty, infinite in time and space, with the man of the world; mine is one treaty which will be kept, whatever others do. If war comes it will have to come to me. I can no longer live in fear of my government or those of other men. I have created an island of security for myself—security against death, injury, and loss of property—in the only way it can be done. Life is too short to live in fear.

3. I do not cherish my appointment by the man who said, "Go ahead and kill them!" to the fliers over Hiroshima and Nagasaki. I cannot follow the man who gives lip service to the United Nations, but does very little to make it work. I believe Americans and other men of the world are far ahead of their leaders and are ready for One World.

4. I will keep my oath of loyalty to the United States and defend her against her enemies, though not against the fear-blinded men of the world. Our enemies are: our own self-centred nationalism; our refusal to share freely our wealth and living standards; our willingness to spend increasing billions for murder; our unwillingness to spend more than a pittance for education; the growing belief and practice that Uncle Sam is God. These and the group enemies of disease, famine, flood, ignorance, and hatred are our only enemies and to rout these I will cheerfully give my life. It is cowardice to take the lives of another to protect one's own; it is godlike manhood to give one's life that others may live.

5. I cannot follow the thick-headed men of our government who turn their eyes from the thundering lesson of history that war never pays except in blind hatred, blood, and roasted babies; that when the harvest of arms and legs and eyes and skeletons is in (the gleaners are still on the battlefields), there is more

fear and more confusion piled upon the same old unsolved dilemmas. To any problem, solution is possible without war; our leaders, to earn their pay for the first time, must pursue those solutions with unselfishness and endless patience. Mr. Forrestal is right when he says, "War is the worst of all possible solutions," (except that it is no solution) but he is eternally wrong when he says (in the same paragraph), "The ability to wage war must always be there." Logically, he cannot hold on to both statements.

6. I cannot follow men like Secretary Forrestal who, in the 1929 stock crash, made nearly a million dollars out of the wrecked fortunes of others. That is our "free enterprise." But since the money was made by means of "perfectly legal" holding companies in Canada, not a cent of income tax was paid on it (according to Life and several other periodicals). That is robbery piled on robbery. I would like to hear Mr. Forrestal's definition of patriotism.

7. AS a taxpaying citizen I would show our faith in the UN by transferring to its authority the whole structures and personnel and financing of our Defence and State Departments, to be administered by the Little Assembly which is not subject to Russian veto. The United Nations must have flesh and blood on its skeleton before we can expect it to walk alone. We must leave like wise rats these sinking old ships of state.

8. I stand on the side of men of peace: Mahatma Gandhi; Leo Tolstoy; Toyohiko Kagawa; Norman Thomas; the Quakers, and the more than 5,000 men of courage whom the US jailed during World War II because they refused to murder at the command of the state.

9. FOR me there will be no future war. The only way to prevent it is for men of the world (the dupes who do the killing) to steadfastly refuse to fight, believing that nothing is worse than the reasoned insanity of organised murder. When the diplomats find they have no armies to back up their bluffs the world will be treated to a different brand of diplomacy.

10. I know that the Russians, the Japanese and Germans, and all other men of the world are peace-loving, war-hating people just like us; but also like us they bend under the propaganda and threatened coercion of the governments that are sworn to serve them and guarantee their lives liberty, and pursuit of happiness. They soon demand our lives, limit our liberty, and make an obstacle course of our pursuit of happiness. I do not approve the violence and lies of the Russian leaders just as I do not approve the lies and violence of U.S. leaders, but to

INDIA FIGHTS HER OLD ENEMY—FAMINE

From Nancy Richardson

Ramnad, S. India.

SIR JOHN ORR has once again uttered his terrifying warning, that man has only a fifty-fifty chance of avoiding world chaos over the perennial problem of food and population.

In Britain this means an uneasy sense that whether we like it or not rationing must go on, and perhaps more personally, a determination to plant more vegetable seeds and fewer flowers, but here in this corner of India it has a meaning and a terror which is close at hand, disaster which is just round the corner.

For three years there has been no full monsoon and river beds are dry, tanks (ponds) empty and wells in many places down to the last muddy dregs. For years parts of S. India have lived on the edge of starvation but imported food has staved off the worst of the disaster. Each year the rain has come and men have improvidently trusted to the fact that it would always come and somehow, in some way, food would be found to supply a rapidly increasing population. Now it seems it is almost too late, a visit to a near-by village shows that the fields are just sandy wastes, even the palm trees in places are showing signs of distress.

In some villages half the population have trekked away, there is no water, therefore no work can be done in the fields. This means no money to buy in the Government Relief shops where grain is sold at a controlled price.

This disastrous circle no one seems able to break. Even in villages where the populations still struggle on, the horrid famine and drought diseases are starting. Children's eyes are almost closed up by an unpleasant disease caused by diet deficiency and dust. A visit to a little hospital shows women brought in too weak to walk and suffering from curious symptoms of diet deficiency puzzling the over-worked doctors.

Just across the sea from us here, Burma is waging internal war. Papers of different points of view bandy words, communist, socialist, right wing, left wing, independence, freedom. But the hard fact seen from here is that Burma was just beginning to be a rice exporting country and war has once again stopped her external trade and probably in many places agriculture has suffered, for in these lands to miss the rainy season means to miss the sowing time.

Surely men must start to heed the warning, settle their disputes and turn to the great problem of populations and their needs, or, more surely even than atom bombs, destruction will come quickly and man will die through his own stupidity, cupidity and lack of foresight.

any individual Russian I hold out my hand in eternal friendship.

11. IT is unthinkable and unnecessary that there should be another war.

In a concluding statement, Captain Taylor says: "If there is treason in this letter, I am not aware of it; to me the only treason is violence against the God-created men of the world." In a statement to Worldover Press, which has released the story of Captain Taylor's renunciation, he asserted: "I do not know if I am beyond the reach of military law, but it doesn't matter. The only important consideration to me is the fight against violence and particularly war. Until war is dead, there is nothing else worth doing."

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MUSIC & DRAMA

Justice (made in Britain)

Edited by
Roger Page

THE Winslow Boy provokes a discussion under three heads; the quality of British films, the adaptation of plays for films, and human justice.

The plot of Terence Rattigan's play is by now quite well-known. Founded on a real case earlier in the century it tells of a father's long fight to clear his young son of a charge of stealing; a fight which is finally successful, but which has exacted terrible sacrifices to enable it to be fought.

Nobody could deny that British films have advanced immeasurably during recent years. There was a time when you could rarely see a good one. Now, although bad ones sometimes appear, they are uncommon. Yet (and it may seem an impertinence for this small voice to speak against a mighty chorus) I feel that often the Press generally is uncritical in its adulation of many British films. This film has been hailed by some as a masterpiece, to me it seems a good sound job. A case in point is the praise lavished on Robert Donat's performance. I have nothing against it, but I think it only a competent performance which could be equalled by scores of other actors.

Advice to film men

Of the millions who will see this film only a tiny minority will have seen the play, so that comparison is only of academic importance but the difficulties of adaptation suggest that the film men ought to try more to develop their own line and not be content with adaptations from what is essentially another medium. The camera can range as the stage cannot; in this film it so often ranges away from the point. The play had no court scene; the film has because court scenes are foolproof. So we see young Winslow in the box, and miss one of the exquisite features of the play in which, once under way, the boy was hardly seen, thus underlining the confusion of human motive, in that the chief actor became a minor role. In the play it follows naturally

that the youngster had gone to the pictures when the trial was finishing; in the film it became just a line to make us laugh. The play, with a few lines and incidents, emphasised the financial sacrifice involved; the film takes us to Mr. Winslow's bank for an interview with the manager. The film opens with the wrong emphasis, by placing it on the father, so that when the tragedy comes it seems to be his (That this should happen in my respectable life); the play made us think from the start of the lost and miserable little boy. In short, a very fine film which will seem a magnificent one to those not knowing the play. To those who do, comparison is inevitable, and then the film seems a little less good. Of course this is all wrong, but a pure critical approach is impossible until memory is provided with shutters.

The plot provides for much interplay of emotion. On the face of it there is a great passion for justice, but how much pride is mixed up with it? The boy is thought to have stolen. To his brother the fuss is about nothing—everybody steals. His mother sees only the upset to the staid family life. His sister sees it as a struggle between Government and the individual; her fiancé takes the Services angle—the Navy must be right. To the servant it is all rather a lark. What is it to Mr. Winslow? Is it solely a concern for justice or is it just a blow to pride that his son should be "branded a thief?" The test is: Would the similar treatment of someone else's son so stir and move him? The film poses these questions, but—rightly does not answer them, leaving that to us. What is it to the brilliant advocate who has himself so often steam-rolled the individual—a chance to score a success or a determination that right be done?

Much is said in the film—as in the play—about British justice, and there is some smugness that this could only happen in Britain. The most terrible thing was not touched on in either place. Young Winslow could be righted because his father was a

well-to-do man, able and willing to pour out thousands of pounds in the fight to vindicate his son. Had he been a poor man that would have been impossible. Probably hundreds of such injustices are committed every year which remain unrighted because the machinery of justice is lubricated only by hard cash. Will Mr. Rattigan give us a play which deals with this tremendous problem, taking for his text the famous dictum of Justice Maxwell, that in Britain justice is open to all—like the Ritz Hotel.

ROGER PAGE.

NEWS FROM HUNGARY

"Michael Tippett scored a great success, and it was evident he won the enthusiastic friendship of the orchestra." This opinion was expressed by Edward Dent, one of the British adjudicators at the Bela Bartok Festival held in Budapest from Oct. 10-21.

Prominent among the events taking place during the Festival were the performances of Bartok's one-act opera "Duke Bluebeard's Castle," Benjamin Britten's "Peter Grimes" and Michael Tippett's Concerto for Double String Orchestra.

Of the performance of "Peter Grimes," Edward Dent, writing in the Hungarian Bulletin, said:

"I had seen the work several times in London, both at Sadler's Wells and at Covent Garden, but this was the first time I had seen it in a foreign country and in a foreign language. The whole presentation in Budapest was in my opinion far superior to either of the London performances. The greatest care had been taken to secure minute accuracy of detail in the English atmosphere of the opera; the scenery, modelled on Sadler's Wells but far better designed and executed, was most effective, and the costumes and make-up of the actors much better than in London. 'Peter Grimes' at Budapest was profoundly moving and a gratifying demonstration of Anglo-Hungarian understanding and friendship: I hope that London will one day reciprocate with an equally fine English performance of 'Duke Bluebeard's Castle' at Sadler's Wells."

H. B.

LAST PLAYED IN 1862

D. BROCKLESS will conduct the Wiseman Choir and Symphony Orchestra in Verdi's Hymn to the Nations at a concert in the Central Hall, Westminster, on Nov. 16, at 7 p.m. on behalf of the Princess Tsahai Memorial Hospital in Addis Ababa. Written for the Great International Exhibition of 1862, this composition has not since been played in this country.

Mendelssohn's Hymn of Praise, Coleridge Taylor's "Ethiopia Salutes the Colours" and other fine music will complete a very interesting concert.

Herman Simberg, Emelie Hooke and Iris Loveridge are also giving their services. The tickets are at popular prices and may be obtained either from the Central Hall, or the Hon. Secretary 3, Charteris Road, Woodford Green, Essex.

The Memorial Hospital Council is working hard to raise the means required to complete the equipment for the Hospital, a large part of which has already been shipped.

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

We regret very much to report that George M. L. Davies, Chairman of the PPU, has been obliged to cancel all his engagements and take a rest. Friends are particularly asked not to write to him.

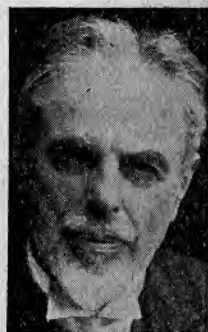
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Pacifist Profiles XV

LAURENCE HOUSMAN prefers a full-face to a profile. "I have always thought my full-face much the better," he writes. But it would take a volume to do justice to the many aspects of his genius.

"Writer and Artist," he is briefly labelled in "Who's Who," and there

follows a list of some sixty-five works from his pen: including not only the plays that have familiarised his gentle wit and lively wisdom to theatre- and cinema-goers everywhere, but novels, poems, essays, memoirs. The "Little Plays of St. Francis" begun in 1917, the "Victoria Regina" series, "Palestine Plays," "Samuel the Kingmaker" and a novel, "The Sheepfold," are the books by which he hopes to be remembered.



LAURENCE HOUSMAN

Born on July 18, 1865 at Bromsgrove, Worcestershire, Laurence was the sixth of a family of seven that included the poet A. E. Housman and Clemence Housman, author of "The Werewolf" and "The Life of Sir Agloval de Galis." He himself studied first as an artist at the Royal College of Art in London—subsequently illustrating his own poems and fairy-tales. His first play, "Bethlehem" was not produced till 1902. Of his later plays, no fewer than thirty-six were at first refused a license by the Lord Chamberlain, though the right of public performance has since been restored to all but half-a-dozen.

With the Suffragettes

But his interests have never been confined to literature or art. From 1907 onwards he took an active part, both as writer and speaker, in the campaign for Women's Suffrage; and during the first World War, helped to organise relief for Belgian refugees. It was then that he "escaped his Conservative upbringing" and became, what he has remained ever since, a Socialist and pacifist.

His religious beliefs inclined him towards the Quakers, and in 1922 he became an associate of the Society of Friends. About the same time he met and made friends with Dick Sheppard. Their correspondence was published in 1939. When Dick Sheppard founded the Peace Pledge Union, Laurence Housman was one of its earliest sponsors; he has also been Chairman, and is still the President of the War Resisters' International. His frequent contributions to Peace News—which is proud to number him among its Directors—both during and since the War bear witness to his continued interest in pacifism.

When the history of the first half of this century comes to be written, Laurence Housman will be found to have contributed as much as any man to the preservation and enhancement of those humanist values which, despite the degradation of two World Wars, remain a priceless part of the European inheritance.

STOP the drive to WAR

Rally for Peace, PEACE SUNDAY, November 14th at 2 p.m.

TRAFALGAR SQUARE

Sponsored by the Daily Worker, the Peace Pledge Union, and the Executives of the Amalgamated Union of Foundry Workers, Constructional Engineering Union, Electrical Trades Union, Engineering and Allied Trades Shop Stewards National Council, Fire Brigades Union Society of Lithographic Artists, United Rubber Workers of Great Britain, and the Communist Party.

Speakers:

J. Platts-Mills, M.P., Sybil Morrison, Lester Hutchinson, M.P., John Gollan, Rev. Stanley Evans.

Chairman: William Rust, Editor, Daily Worker.

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MEETINGS

LONDON, W.C.2. Kingsway Hall, Wed. Nov. 17, at 1.15 p.m. Speaker: John Casson, son of Dame Sybil E. Casson, on "The Approach to Peace through the Theatre," National Peace Council.

LONDON, W.C.1. Dick Sheppard House, 5, Endsleigh St., Nov. 17, at 7.30. Stuart Morris will speak on "The Immediate Task of the Pacifist" at a meeting for new members. All 1948 members invited.

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

LONDON, W.1. Weigh House Church, Duke Street, W.1. (Bond St. tube) Sunday Evenings at 7. The Gospel of Peace! Social Hour follows.

LONDON, S.W.1. Dec. 4 CO Reunion Dinner, 7.0 p.m., Stewart's Restaurant, Victoria. Guests of Honour, H. Runham Brown, and John P. Fletcher. Details from Rex Whittaker, 76 Mount Nod Road, S.W.16. Tel.: STR 0083.

GLASGOW COMMUNITY House, 214 Clyde Street. Saturday Nov. 13, 3.30 p.m. Speaker: Samir Taher. Subject: "The Arab Question." Open meetings, Fellowship of Reconciliation and Church of Scotland Peace Society.

NORTH LONDON Region. Tottenham F.M.H. Book now Sat., Dec. 4, 3.30 p.m. onwards. Peace Exhibition, Children's Entertainment, Concert, Bazaar and Fair, Refreshments, Distinguished Speakers, etc., etc. Details from Harry Myster c/o PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4.

ACCOMMODATION

TEACHER, WIFE, baby girl, urgently require unfurnished or semi-furnished accommodation Croydon district. Piper, 20 Dale Park Avenue, Carshalton.

CHRISTMAS IN the country. Why not join St. Arilds Christmas Party. Good fun and plenty to eat. Children welcome. 1 guinea per day. St. Arilds Guest House, Kingston, Thornsburg, Glos.

SEASIDE HOLIDAY acmdtn. for vegetarians and others welcomed. Vegetarians at Innisfree, St. Mary's Bay, Ashford, Kent.

DERBYSIRE HILLS. Food Reform Vegetarian Guest House for happy holidays or restful recuperation: all modern comforts. A. and K. S. Ludlow, The Briars, Crich, Matlock. (Station: Ambergate. Tel.: Ambergate 44).

EX-PSU and PRS member needs unfurnished flat urgently. S.W. London area, preferably Isleworth.

EDUCATIONAL

SPEAKING & WRITING lessons 5s. Dorothy Matthews, B.A., 32 Primrose Hill Road, London, N.W.3. PRImrose 5686.

LITERATURE, &c.

QUAKERISM. Information and Literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends' House Euston Rd., London.

PERSONAL

TEENAGE TROUBLES. Consult John Corfield the Specialist in Youth Problems. 28 Mt. Ephraim Road Streatham, S.W.16. Str. 5507. MUSICIAN WOULD like friends, South West London. Box 972.

SITUATIONS VACANT

Situations are available only to applicants excepted from the Control of Emigration Order, 1947, No. 2021. MAN CASEWORKER required—Quaker sympathies—valuable social work experience. Board residence plus 19/- per week. Further particulars from Secretary, Friends Service Centre, 161/163 Netherfield Road, Liverpool 5.

WANTED FOR permanent staff in Central London, vegetarian, man or woman, general office duties, typing essential, shorthand an advantage. Also woman secretary, good speeds and office training. Apply immediately Box 976.

DICK SHEPPARD House. Two shorthand typists required at once. Hours 9.30-5.30, no Saturdays. Please write the General Secretary, PPU, 6 Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1. or phone EUS 5501.

SITUATIONS & WORK WANTED

TWO YOUNG Sudetens, homeless, must leave for Germany unless resident farmwork is found urgently. Can any reader help please. C.-J. Panther, 44 Freeman Road, Leicester.

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ARCHITECT'S ASSISTANT would consider change to office where steady work is acceptable—recent work farms and houses—no exams. passed. Southern England only. Box 975.

Japan provides a new weapon

COMMENTARY CONTINUED

Murray, Wagner and McGrath presented, together with Senator Dingell in the case of their second Bill, two Bills to promote a "Lloyd George" medical service in the United States. The Republicans opposed them.

Unfair to Dewey

IT would be unfair to conclude from this record that Mr. Dewey would have ruled America as the Republican Congress has tried to rule the President these past two years. New York State, of which Mr. Dewey is Governor, is the most progressive in America. Mr. Lewis Mumford, who lives there, once explained to me how much more elaborate are the social services provided in New York State than those provided elsewhere in the Union. Mr. Dewey has not been a reactionary Governor. In fact, I have no doubt that had he become President after last week's election, he would have had the same struggle with a Republican Congress that President Truman has had.

In effect, the grounds for satisfaction with the American election are not so much that Mr. Truman is still in office, but that the Republican Congress is out of office.

Gallup polls discredited

THE occasion allows me a further word on Dr. Gallup's Polls. Whether the good doctor has yet made a comment on the election result I do not know. But at last it seems that all the journalists who took his "scientific" investigation of American opinion for gospel, and accordingly pronounced the defeat of Truman certain, may be persuaded to consider that there is something wrong with the Gallup method. I believe that the sooner his surveys are finally discredited the better it will be for everyone.

Gallup pseudo-science helped to kill the Hanging clause; now I see this same technique has "ascertained" that "public opinion" favours hunting as well as hanging. In the case of hunting, Dr. Gallup is not the only man who has his agents at work. I mentioned last month that the British Field Sports Society is collecting signatures for a pro-hunting petition. This time I must mention that the National Society for the Abolition of Cruel Sports (of 7, St. James Street, Harpenden, Herts.) is organising a petition against hunting. I have signed this second petition.

Far East development

THERE is important news from the Far East. China can be given up for lost to the Communists, and it is probably only a matter of weeks before Chiang Kai-shek boards a plane for America. Mr. Lo Fu has already advised the General to take a year's "holiday" there.

Meanwhile in Japan the population has reached more than 80 million for the first time in history, that is (according to Worldover Press) an increase of 1,600 thousand in ten months. Japanese leaders are confronted by a reduced territory, the destruction of the nation's former economy and the dwindling of hopes for any extensive emigration. How are they to maintain their increasing population? Available cultivated land is approaching its limit, and thus no decrease can be expected in food imports. The U.S. authorities announce that 2,200 thousand tons of foodstuffs

will have to be supplied from outside during 1949.

But obviously this cannot go on. And how, I wonder, does it link up with the coming loss of China to Communism? The Japanese need for *Lebensraum* may be used as an American weapon against a Red China in the coming struggle for power. The West has very few other weapons against Communism in Asia.

German liners again

RECENT news from Germany has also a bearing on World War III. It appears probable that the great shipyards of Hamburg and Bremen will start building ocean-going vessels once more, despite the prohibitions of Potsdam. The Americans have suggested that the Germans should be allowed to import steel to begin work. The British have objected, but since the success of ERP is involved, the Germans and Americans are likely to have their way. Germany needs income, and other nations need ships. Three yards are now available, and there are at least 10,000 skilled hands awaiting employment.

Since 1945 Germany has been allowed to build small ships of 1,500 tons and less. Now it is argued that Germany must build liners in order to earn foreign exchange. Herr Kroll, of the Deutsche Werft, Hamburg, has been to London to put Germany's case. The idea is that the German yards should produce ships for Sweden and Norway only in the first instance, but later the Germans hope to have their own merchant marine again.

British opposition is not entirely unreasonable. Memories of past competition from German and Scandinavian fleets are strong. Jarrow and the Clyde were idle when Dr. Schacht was in charge of Germany's economy. In those days, German shipyards earned £10 million a year building and repairing for foreign account as a result of exchange manipulation.

Nowadays, however, when Britain is using the Schacht technique to protect her own economy, fears based on pre-war experience should not dominate our policy. The whole world needs ships, and even if the Americans' motive in encouraging a revival of the German industry may be criticised, the outcome of that revival ought to be to the benefit of everyone.

Defending the West

THE New Statesman (Nov. 6) carries an interesting, but, to my mind, obscure article by Dr. Alex. Comfort on the defence of the West. Dr. Comfort, who is both a pacifist and an anarchist, argues that England and America are no longer defensible in the sense that Lord Montgomery is supposed to defend them. "More fundamental measures," he concludes, "are needed to restore the security of Western cultures."

It seems to me that Dr. Comfort, like all anarchists, takes at once too gloomy and too hopeful a view of the world he lives in; too gloomy a view of human institutions, too hopeful a view of human nature. My way of judging human institutions is not to ask: "Are they perfect?" but "Could they be worse?" It seems to me that society as organised in Britain, at any rate, does make the best of a bad job. Human societies have always been insecure, unjust, imperfect. Here in Western democracy it seems to me that we have something a good deal less unjust and imperfect than many other societies. I don't think, in short, that our society is half as bad as Dr. Comfort says it is.

I don't understand what he means when he says "there is nothing to defend." There seems to me a great deal to defend in Western civilisation: and the rights we have that Russians, for example, don't have, are of the utmost importance. What Lord Montgomery is paid to defend by military methods is, I believe, well worth defending—but by another method than his. The problem for pacifism is to discover how non-violence can be used for the defence of democracy and resistance to Communism. I don't want to know how to initiate the millennium, but I do want to know how Lord Montgomery's job is to be done without Lord Montgomery's weapons.

SYBIL MORRISON'S CAMPAIGN COLUMN

Big meetings planned for London, Glasgow, Birmingham, Bristol, Manchester & Newcastle

WHEN the people of this country feared invasion from Hitler's armed forces, the Prime Minister rallied them by a call to suffer and endure; he didn't promise escape, he promised nothing but hard work and suffering, but his assurance that the whole people of Britain stood together and would die together won even those who disagreed with him politically to stand by his side and follow his lead.

Those of us who have said that we will not take part in war can count only upon our own powers of resistance, our own ability to suffer and endure, our own courage to face the consequences of war renunciation whatever they may be. For us there is no great patriotic barricade, no strength of overwhelming numbers standing behind us and beside us.

Yet, that sense of being "comrades-in-arms" is the real need of the young people facing conscription today; the ex-Service men and women seeking a new way to peace; the disillusioned patriots searching for other ways of saving their country.

FILMS AS AMBASSADORS

GIVING the second lecture in the National Peace Council's "Approaches to Peace" series of lunch-hour meetings in the Kingsway Hall, the well-known novelist and film-critic, E. Arnot Robertson, spoke on Nov. 3 of the opportunities for increasing international understanding through the medium of the film. Gerald Bailey was in the chair.

A really good film was the most persuasive ambassador a country could send out. It could get across frontiers, without need of a passport, and had tremendous power for or against peace. A film should not attempt to flatter the people, but merely tell the truth about them. The average Hollywood film, for instance, gave no idea about life as it really seemed to Americans themselves, and might be a barrier rather than an aid to understanding.

British films were rather better in this respect and the best of them, as for instance *Millions Like Us* and *The Way to the Stars*, dealt with real people and real problems. In realism, we perhaps came second to the Italians, who were now experiencing an amazing film renaissance.

But owing to the present financial crisis, said the speaker, there was a tendency to make the films with an eye solely to the box-office, regardless of the effect they would have overseas. This was a short-sighted and dangerous policy. Films should deal with subjects people felt deeply about. By tiptoeing away from controversial topics, in order not to offend, they became merely pointless.

M. T.

Members of the PPU, FoR, APF, Society of Friends and other pacifists are invited to a meeting to inaugurate Islington Peace Group on Thursday, Nov. 18 at 8 p.m. at the Peace News Office 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.

How can the Peace Pledge Union give these people the support they need?

By, first of all, showing them simply that we are here—a great concourse of pacifists who, believing that the renunciation of war is the choice of good, hold fast to that ideal. What can we offer them?

The comradeship which is an essential part of working shoulder to shoulder in the same struggle; the strength that is in unity of purpose.

The National Council has recently issued a statement which says that "to win adherents to the Pledge, to renounce war, remains the main task of the Peace Pledge Union." This does not mean to gain new members who do not understand the implications of signing the pledge; it does not mean to deceive people into thinking pacifism is a way of escape from suffering; it means, first of all, a revival of a sense of urgency in our members, so that those now earnestly seeking a new way will know the strength that will be behind them and beside them.

For many years after I became a pacifist I was extremely lonely; my family didn't agree with me, my friends thought me mad. Then came Dick Sheppard's "Pledge," and when I discovered that in my district alone there were some hundreds of signatories I felt a lightening of spirit and a strengthening of purpose that only a common cause can give.

There can be no doubt that the time has come for rallying to this common cause. Our lives may not be long enough to make the whole journey and see the cause won, but it is our business to build the road for others.

It is with great diffidence and humility that I have accepted the position of Organiser for this new campaign, but my unshakable belief in the work that needs to be done by the PPU lights the way for me.

Each week this column will bring you news of the campaign and of the activities of Groups and Areas.

The Central Hall, Westminster, is booked for Jan. 21 for a great nation-wide rally of pacifists. Provincial and Home County Groups will be asked to organise coach trips to London on that evening.

Glasgow PPU has booked the St. Andrew's Hall, which holds 2,500 for 19th December. Rhys Davies, Stuart Morris and myself will be among the speakers. Individuals have already contributed £20 towards the expenses of the meeting, but another £60 will be needed. Contributions should be sent to the secretary, Campbell Wilkie, 12 Balders Rd. Glasgow, W.3.

Birmingham, Bristol, Manchester and Newcastle are already planning similar meetings.

The campaign has begun! Watch this column!

SYBIL MORRISON.

TEN YEARS AGO

From Peace News, November 12, 1938

If I have called the arrangement with Herr Hitler "peace without honour," it was not to cast any reflection on British or French statesmen.

I have no doubt that Mr. Chamberlain could not think of anything better. He knew his nation's limitations. He wanted to avoid war. Short of going to war he pulled his full weight in favour of the Czechs.

That it could not save honour was no fault of his. It would be so every time there is a struggle with Herr Hitler or Signor Mussolini.

It cannot be otherwise. Democracy dreads to spill blood. The philosophy for which the two dictators stand calls it cowardice to shrink from carnage.

Science of war leads one to dictatorship pure and simple. Science of non-violence can alone lead one to pure democracy. England, France and America have to make their choice. That is the challenge of the two dictators.

(Dictators) have built upon their invariable experience that men yield to force. Unarmed men, women and children offering non-violent resistance without any bitterness in them will be a novel experience for them. Who can dare to say that it is not in their nature to respond to the

higher and finer forces? They have the same soul that I have.

I present Dr. Benes with a weapon not of the weak, but of the brave. There is no bravery greater than a resolute refusal to bend the knee to an earthly power, no matter how great, and that without bitterness of spirit and in the fullness of faith that the spirit alone lives. —M. K. Gandhi

Make a Note of this—NOW!

PUBLIC MEETING OF PROTEST

AGAINST the coming into force on Jan. 1, 1949, of the National Service CONSCRIPTION ACT

at FRIENDS' HOUSE, Euston Road, NW.1. On Saturday, January 1st, 1949, at 3 p.m.

Speakers: LORD FARINGDON DR. A. D. BELDEN RHYS J. DAVIES, M.P. R. MORLEY, M.P.

Organised by NO CONSCRIPTION COUNCIL, 6, ENDSLEIGH STREET W.C.1.

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